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WASHINGTON'S SUBTLE SABOTAGE OF GENEVA TALKS

The American Government created world-wide consternation on January 5 by announcing that new data showed that it was more difficult to identify underground nuclear explosions than had been thought by the Geneva Conference of experts last summer. In a recent issue, "I. F. Stone's Weekly" describes how the American Government made every effort to encourage people to draw the wrong conclusions from this new data, conclusions that were seriously damaging to the chances of the present Geneva Conference reaching an agreement. The following is an extract:

THE news of this new data coincided with the resumption, after the holiday recess, of the negotiations at Geneva for a nuclear test suspension agreement.

The general impression in Washington as elsewhere was accurately summed up by the New York Times the following Sunday in its News of the Week: "The view was that the doubts cast on the reliability of the proposed detection system make agreement on a workable nuclear test ban more remote."

False impression

All this high-pitched, almost hysterical alarm, was the result of well-calculated deception. Thanks to a series of executive session hearings by the Humphrey disarmament sub-committee, the censored transcripts of which have just been made available, the truth can now be seen and told. Carefully and literally re-read in the light of those hearings and of a speech by Humphrey in the Senate January 20, the White House statement of January 5 and the Defence Department release amplifying it on January 16 contain no untruths.

But looked at from the standpoint of public relations, i.e., the art of public misinformation, both statements were designed to create a false impression by the facts they omitted. Like the clean bomb affair, this was another bit of nuclear flim-flam.

When Philip J. Farley, special assistant to the Secretary of State for disarmament and atomic energy, was before the sub-committee on January 28, Senator Humphrey asked him, "Why was no attempt made by those responsible for releasing this new data to really explain its significance?"

"Awkward situation"

Mr. Farley admitted lamely, "I think it is true that the implications that were inferred by most of the newspapers went in one direction," i.e., the direction of assuming that the results of the new data were wholly bad and upset the basis of the Geneva technical agreement last summer.

Mr. Farley said, "It was an awkward situation because it was, in effect, technical data whose meaning was not fully understood."

But the trained propaganda analyst and the shrewd public relations man who reviews the record will see that the real fault was not "awkwardness."

● ON BACK PAGE

HUDDLESTON ON NYASALAND

'The moment of decision'

FROM CONSTANCE WILLIS

THE Africa Bureau does not stand for violence, but we believe in ordered freedom for our friends in Africa and are in agreement with Dr. Banda and the other leaders of the African National Congress," declared Lord Hemmingford, the Bureau's Chairman, at the tremendously enthusiastic London meeting in the Caxton Hall (filled to overflowing, and extending to two other halls and an open-air meeting at the Marble Arch) on Monday.

Father Trevor Huddleston, who received a tremendous ovation, warned against over-simplification.

To think that what applied in one area of Africa automatically applied in another was a disastrous mistake.

"We tend to think," he said, "that some form of constitutional advance, which is easy and safe on the West Coast, is going to be equally so in the South or East; or assume that what is described as a diabolical plot involving assassination really means that already Nyasaland is in the grip of some super Mau-Mau."

"In either case we, at this distance, are in danger of totally misjudging those enormously powerful winds which are sweeping across that continent."

Protest vigil at Dortmund

GERMAN war resisters in the Ruhr are to stage a vigil to-night at the old Dortmund airport where the 47th British Guided Missile Regiment is stationed.

The vigil is part of a week-end of activity including a march, a public meeting, and a conference to demonstrate opposition to the continued occupation of Germany by foreign troops and to German re-armament.

Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union (the British section of the War Resisters' International) has accepted an invitation to fly to Germany to take part in the week-end's events.

CENTRAL HALL RALLY

JOHN STONEHOUSE, MP, and others will speak on Central African Crisis in Central Hall on March 20 at 7.30 p.m. Reserved seats 2s. 6d. from Movement for Colonial Freedom, 374 Grays Inn Road, W.C.1.

WANTS SPECIAL TRAIN TO ALDERMASTON

A MR. WHITAKER, of The Gables, Ridge Park, Bramhall, Cheshire (Bramhall 175) hopes to organise a special train to Aldermaston for the march to London this Easter.

He wants to hear from anyone prepared to travel south either for the day when the march starts (Good Friday) or for the four days.

Mrs. Dranesfield, of 423 Aigburth Road, Liverpool 17 (Garston 3988), will be glad to hear from anyone wishing to make up a cheap fare party of eight to travel to London by the mid-night train arriving in London on Easter Monday morning for the last day of the march and returning in the evening.

Wanted for the March

To provide for the many needs of the marchers, the organisers are asking for—1, marshals and stewards (particularly those with motor-cycles, scooters or pedal cycles); 2, lorries and caravans; 3, volunteers to operate or supply catering equipment, especially mobile water boilers, Calor-gas stoves, large teapots.

Any offers of help should be sent to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, 143 Fleet Street, E.C.4, Tel. FLE 4175, as soon as possible.

The approximate timetable is:

There was, however, a single thread running through all African affairs at this time: the need, if there was to be any hope of solution or advance, for the European to learn to see African affairs through African eyes.

"There is no longer room today for those policies which may be based on some kind of fair play or justice but are conditioned by what the white man thinks will be good for the African. This is something which we have, at least I hope and pray, come to learn. The basic quality demanded of all those who would help to shape events in Africa, if they be white, is the quality of humility."

"But the idea dies hardest where there are white settler communities, who find it almost impossibly difficult to turn and see these things through any other eyes than their own."

"The white settlers' communities are afraid; let us try to understand the nature of their fear because it is only by understanding it that you can hope to overcome it. Fear is irrational; you cannot argue with it."

"The presence of Southern Rhodesian troops in Nyasaland to assert their con-

ception of what the social order must be is serious enough, but I would suggest that far and away the most serious aspect of the moment is the use by those with power against those without it of their massive force to silence all effective political opposition."

"It was my privilege in the last three years I was in South Africa to work very closely with members of the African National Congress. I knew the secretary of the ANC in South Africa who, for three years, was persecuted by the police, although to my certain knowledge he was a man of absolute integrity and a devout Christian."

"He expressed the aspirations of his people, was arrested and brought to trial on a charge of high treason."

"I sat on the same platform with them on many occasions, and I never heard any single responsible African leader at any time voice the kind of hideous racial threat which the white politician used."

African nationalism

"Through the banning of Congress, through this unthought and swiftly carried out action, you immediately create, overnight, a situation of tension and suspicion which may never be undone. You lose contact at the very point where contact is most essential."

"We should have learnt by now that the man we imprison as a traitor today is the Prime Minister of his country tomorrow."

"What we are seeing in the African Federation is a total failure to come to terms with the great force sweeping across Africa, Nationalism, which calls out all that it most noble and most fulfilling in its peoples."

The policy which said to the African: 'Look, Kaffir, we want your labour, we need your labour to build up our industry, to make us rich, to develop this country we have come into. But we don't want you as a person,' was intolerable and called for the greatest possible opposition in every country in the Commonwealth. It was destructive of the only idea which could make the Commonwealth a reality at all.

"The capacity to understand and work with African Nationalism was the only quality which counted today. There were very few Europeans who had that capacity, and of those few Guy Clutton-Brock was one."

"This is the moment of decision, not only for Nyasaland and the Federation, but for the continent of Africa in its relationship to the Western World."

Mr. Ralph Ibbott, of St. Faith's Mission, Southern Rhodesia, spoke of seven of his friends who have been detained, all of them members of the ANC.

"The country is organised for the Europeans," he said.

Guy Clutton-Brock's life was a challenge to privilege, and that was the reason for his arrest and that of others from St. Faith's.

Mr. Kanyama Chiume, the only African Congress leader to escape arrest, spoke at the end of the meeting, following his television appearance, and expressed his deeply felt gratitude to the people of Britain on behalf of the victims of oppression in his own country.

"We are not anti-white, or anti-British. We are anti-discrimination, anti-segregation, and anti-imperialism. These are artificial barriers to our natural development which will be removed, come what may."

THE ANALYSIS OF OPPRESSION

By Colin Falck

Our contributor, a graduate, is now reading psychology, philosophy and physiology at Oxford.

Oppression and Liberty, by Simone Weil. Routledge, 25s.

Throughout history men have struggled, suffered and died to free the oppressed. Their efforts, when they did not remain sterile, have never led to anything except the replacing of one oppressive regime by another.

THE revolutionaries who died in the streets of Paris at the end of the eighteenth century died convinced that with their lives they were purchasing the freedom of mankind; and they at least were never to be disillusioned. We today, if we concern ourselves still with mankind and with freedom, must respect and honour those who have so concerned themselves before us, however frustrated their efforts, however (as we may believe) mistaken their methods.

If we are disillusioned today it may be with the tactics of particular revolutionaries or with the principle of revolution in general: have they merely picked the wrong time and place or the wrong leaders, or have they chosen wholly the wrong way to pursue their ends?

I think we must avoid quick and unreflecting answers to this question. Recent history makes revolution look an unpromising enough road to the liberation of the oppressed: nowhere and at no time, from the Bastille to October, 1917, has the sought-for era of freedom and equality been ushered in: each occasion of rejoicing has had its own peculiarly grisly aftermath. And many people have concluded that this process is inevitable, that one oppression can give way only to another, that each revolution carries in itself the seeds of its own destruction; some of us go further and condemn the idea of revolution as intrinsically harmful, adopted

More about Gandhi

The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Vol. I, 1884-1896. The Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Delhi 8; 16s. 6d. or \$2.50.

THE publication by the Indian Government of the first of over 50 volumes of the collected works of Gandhi marks the beginning of the process of bringing together into one series the abundance of articles, petitions, speeches, diaries and letters of the Mahatma.

This first volume, covering his first 27 years, includes student days in London, 22 months back in India, and the following three years in South Africa, where he went initially as a lawyer. The book has valuable appendices, and is an important source work in which some of the influences in his formative years are seen. Anyone who has read Gandhi's autobiography and one or two biographies can turn to it with profit, though the greatest value of the series will doubtless be its part in preparing the essential analyses of his methods and achievements.

New reading

Books received:

The Case Against Hunting, by E. W. Martin. Dobson, 12s. 6d.

Freedom Chooses Slavery, by J. Freire d'Andrade. Allen & Unwin, 15s.

Waging Peace—the Swiss Experience, by William Bross Lloyd. Public Affairs Press, \$2.50.

The Upanishads—a Selection. Phoenix House, 25s.

The Bridge of Love, by Han A. de Boer. Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 15s.

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dent of the workers, which incorporates them as living cogs."

But Marx failed to draw the full consequences of this insight, to see that here lay the entire problem of power and oppression in an industrial society; it was to specialisation and the division of labour, not to the capitalist system of ownership that this new form of oppression was indissolubly linked; it developed with the power-relationship that arose between the co-ordinators of labour on the one hand and those, on the other, who carried it out while remaining units in a whole that their minds could never embrace: between these two groups the machine stood, an impassable barrier. The deepest inade-

BOOKS

quacy of Marxism was to suppose that freedom could be established by merely turning over the industrial mechanism to a new class, by the revolutionary overthrow of oppressors by oppressed. This alone could never bring about more than a reversal of roles; oppression would remain, wedded to the structure itself.

In attacking this problem, Simone Weil argues that man's freedom must be seen as essentially a relation between his thought and his action: he remains free where he disposes of his own capacity to act, and his freedom is greatest when his understanding is in direct contact with the world through the medium of his labour. To the extent, therefore, that industrialisation deprives a man's understanding of its proper object by depriving his work of any purpose intelligible to him, to that degree it limits and undermines his freedom.

What is necessary to freedom, and what is denied by specialisation and division of labour, is that a man should be able to conceive of a chain of intermediaries linking the movements he is capable of to the results he wishes to obtain. It is for this reason that the turning of screws on a production line, however much less physically exhausting than raising a crop of turnips, can be an enslavement in a particular way that the raising of a crop of turnips cannot.

In a specialised society the function of co-ordination is interposed between a man and the object of his labour; there is method in the motions of work, but none in the mind of the labourer. What Marx called "the separation of the spiritual forces of the process of production from manual work" leads to the subordination of those who labour to those who control and manage, to the polarisation and power-relationship which is the basis of oppression. Denied the exercise of intelligence or initiative, the worker surrenders his freedom to the wider necessities of the system he serves—to the aims and purposes crystallised in it, which are the aims and purposes of the co-ordinating class.

This interpretation of the changing trends in industrial society now begins to look disturbingly accurate; in the intervening years the pattern has only emerged more clearly. Perhaps its fullest exemplification has been seen in Nazi Germany or the Soviet Union, where the three principal bureaucracies—the State, the capital industries and the workers' organisations—were merged together into one and the same monolithic apparatus.

In the more capitalistic economies today the process does not seem to have gone so far: bureaucracy has crept in everywhere but has remained more diffused and scattered, prevented by the surviving free play of the system from the fatal crystallisation around a single centre of oppression. But to congratulate ourselves on our good fortune might be our last and most dangerous mistake.

A new chapter to "Oppression and Liberty" is needed today—a study of the last and least resistable tyranny, tyranny by persuasion. It is here, in fact, that any

serious analysis of contemporary society must have its roots. The technical developments that made way for specialisation and the new oppression—which is merely less advanced in our own society than it is in some others—have made available at the same time the new and powerful instruments of mass-communication. The oppression appears to have enlisted these in its support.

Whatever capacities for individuality, responsibility or creative thought may have survived a man's alienation from the productive process must now face the withering onslaughts of the inane television programmes and much of the popular press. It may be that they are beginning to crumble. If this is so, and if the process of enslavement is not then to be rapid and complete, it seems urgently necessary that these developments, in the midst of which we live our lives, so that they too easily pass unnoticed, should be analysed and understood.

The problem is one that does not so much defy analysis as elude it, because it is hard to formulate in the language to which we are accustomed; yet this is surely oppression if anything is. When a man is denied the independence he needs to create his own life through his work he cannot be expected to rally his spiritual powers and express himself creatively in his "leisure."

Some have demanded that he should, and seen the trend to commercialisation and consumer-mindedness, the "degradation" of values in the twentieth century, as a spiritual collapse—a comforting confirmation of the human weakness and sinfulness in which they were determined in any case to believe. But this is surely the most inhuman conclusion of all. Man is bounded by and given his stature by the material conditions of his existence; they are the challenge whereby he creates himself the kind of being he is; his double burden today, of being dependent still on nature yet alienated from it through the structure of his society may be more than he can support.

The basis that Simone Weil provides for the exploration of these problems and for the constructive reorganisation that would be needed to overcome them is enough reason to consider her writing important to the present time. But besides this she writes with a rigour and vigour quite unusual in political discussion today and a moral seriousness refreshingly commensurate with the seriousness of the questions she treats. This is a combination of logic and enthusiasm that could give our jaded political thinking so much of what it needs—at the very least, foundation, uplift and a shot in the arm.

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PEOPLE AND PLACES

'Commonsense or fallacy?'

IMAGINE a railway train stretching from London to Stalingrad, coaches closed up buffer to buffer, and packed with TNT. That is the power of today's four megaton bomb.

This was how Ritchie Calder the science editor of the News Chronicle, described present possibilities at a recent Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament delegate conference at Croydon. The local Campaign had called the conference to consider the value of civil defence in nuclear war.

Nearly 100 delegates and concerned people attended the Friends Meeting House, and speakers from the Labour Party, Fellowship of Reconciliation, UN Association, Liberal Party, Women's International League, Surrey Peace Council and many other organisations took part in the discussion. In the chair was Michael Howard, who is also chairman of the London Regional Council of the CND, and was chief marshal on the Aldermaston March last year.

Another speaker with a different approach to civil defence was Mrs. Casaubon-Vincent of the Women's Voluntary Service, who outlined the organisation of the civil defence corps. "If 10,000,000 people were killed in this country," she explained, "there would still be 40,000,000 left, many of whom would need help and succour."

But Ritchie Calder couldn't accept that. "There is no answer to radiation," he explained. No civil defence could "deliver us" from the "heat, flash and blast of a fire-ball three to five miles in diameter."

This was an excellent initiative by the local Campaign at Croydon. It is probable that the subject of civil defence, being the weakest point in the extinction gamble, can bring together people of very different opinions to consider the basic weaknesses of the whole deterrent theory upon which foreign policy is based.

The excellent Hampstead Campaign exhibition on civil defence "No place to hide," which started to tour Britain last summer, is still educating people, and when the Government announces its latest evacuation plans (for which we have been waiting two years) the scene should be set for a first-class campaign. This could well start with the evacuation of all big-bomb politicians.

No official hand-out

THE Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War in Britain has received a most welcome letter from its counterpart in the United States, the Committee for Non-Violent Action.

In it the Americans officially express "the great sense of solidarity that we feel" with those in Britain who demonstrated at

PN IN THE UNIVERSITIES

A NUMBER of Peace News' readers at various universities are taking part in a circulation drive for the paper. From the office we are helping them by sending a free quantity of four successive issues and a duplicated letter to go with them. The vigorous discussion going on in our columns at the present time and the news we give of peace activities in different countries means that Peace News is of increasing interest to students.

Any students or sixth-formers who can help in this drive should use the coupon below:

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a Norfolk missile base last December.

"Our separate efforts in England and the United States," they say, "have had the effect of a chain reaction on one another. Your action has had a considerable impact here in the States."

The letter is signed by George Willoughby, one of the crew members of the "Golden Rule," and Lawrence Scott, who organised the demonstration at the Nevada testing ground in August, 1957.

Those following in the "Gandhi tradition" in the States should know that they are held in high esteem in Britain, too. Bob Pickus' analysis in Liberation of the Nevada project was a model for such after-thought, and the Direct Action Committee is waiting for the day (soon) when



"... no answer to radiation,"
—says Ritchie Calder.

the postman brings them a copy of an American booklet which will analyse several major non-violent actions in the States in recent times.

When he was in London last November Albert Bigelow, skipper of the "Golden Rule," told me that it was hoped to publish this booklet "in February or March."

Preparations in Vienna

THE Communist-controlled International Youth Festival, which will be held in Vienna between July 26-August 4, has evoked considerable controversy in Austria, our correspondent there, Francis Rona, tells me.

The Government has accorded full facilities to the organisers, but the Austrian Youth Council (Bundesjugendring) decided in January to boycott the Festival because "it is camouflaged Communist propaganda."

Members of various pacifist organisations, however, intend to be present as individual "observers." They want to state their own point of view and to discuss problems of peace and non-violence.

The International Fellowship of Reconciliation is to organise a Preparatory Conference a week before the Festival in order to give young pacifists an opportunity for careful preparation before the Festival's discussions.

During the Festival the FoR Centre (Vienna, 1. Schottengasse No. 3a/1/58, phone 63-80-823) will provide an "open house" for contacts. All young pacifists who intend to go to Vienna are invited to get into contact with the Centre.

The threat of peace

REGULAR readers will know that we are indebted to the American weekly the Nation for much of our American coverage. Nation articles formed the basis for our article on "War by accident" and our story of the election of pacifist Byron L. Johnson to Congress.

Now the Nation has produced a special issue "If we want peace—barriers and prospects" (Feb. 21). Introducing the issue the Nation says, "It is strange that in a time when the sentiment for peace is universal, there is no real peace and no real movement for peace. The sentiment for peace is pious and toothless; a movement for peace, on the contrary, would threaten basic assumptions in an astonishing variety of our institutions. And these institutions are not without weapons. Let

a man move from approval of peace to action for peace and he will find himself at odds with built-in responses, obsolete slogans, ossified political attitudes, vested economic interests, bipartisan political accords—a whole panoply of arms to defend the age from the disruption of peace. . . . The arms race will not stop, and new policies will not be initiated, until that sentiment finds effective political expression."

Five writers examine almost every aspect of American policy that bears on international relations. Of particular interest to PN readers is the article by Stewart Meacham of the American Friends Service Committee on the activities of American anti-war organisations like the Non-Violent Action Committee.

Copies of this special issue can be obtained from the Nation, 333, Sixth Avenue, New York, N.Y., U.S.A.

A cockney answer

THAT progressive East London borough of Bethnal Green is currently holding a Festival of Arts with a difference.

This week it has been showing an exhibition by child artists, followed next week by one by adults.

These exhibitions, under the title "Friendship Through Art," are held in connection with the borough's "town twinning" scheme. Six years ago Bethnal Green, one of the pioneers of town twinning, formed an association with Puteaux (Paris), and in the following year some of its local industry was shown at an international exhibition there.

Later the London borough formally twinned with St. Gilles-lez-Bruxelles (Belgium), and now it has formed friendly associations with other towns in Luxembourg, Italy, Yugoslavia, Austria and Germany. The borough of Bethnal Green was one of the areas in Britain worst damaged by German bombing in World War II.

Five of the associated Continental towns have this year contributed paintings to the Art Section of the Bethnal Green Festival of Arts, which is the second international art exhibition arranged in connection with the borough's town twinning scheme.

The exhibitions, to which admission is free, are at the Central Public Library, Cambridge Heath Road, London, E.2. (Daily, 10—8; Saturdays, 10—5.)

PN readers may remember that last year Bethnal Green borough libraries produced a striking folder, "Mankind is one Family," giving an appropriate selected list of books available.

—Phyz

'Join us' plea at Cathedral door

CHRISTIANS! Join us and Rise Against the H-bomb. Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

Two outside posters bearing this message were displayed outside Exeter Cathedral on Sunday, March 1, and a third poster outside a nearby church by the Exeter Peace Movement.

"We intend to continue with this experiment every week for some considerable time and gradually extend it," the secretary, Alec Lea, told Peace News.

"At present we have ten volunteers for the work."

The Dean had been politely informed of the intention to stand outside the Cathedral and the poster bearers were not interfered with. "Three members of the congregation came up to congratulate us on what we were doing," reported Alec Lea afterwards.

"The principle on which it is based is surely unassailable: that people who are campaigning for an end to all preparations for indiscriminate killing have the right to appeal for support from church-going Christians since these are the only section of the community who promise every week to treat their enemies with love and therefore not with bombs."

Pacifist battler wins

THIS is not our headline. The three words told readers of Canada's "Toronto Daily Star" that their country's veteran pacifist clergyman, Dr. James Finlay, had won the Board of the United Church of Canada to a 7 to 4 decision that



"Canada abandon her national defence programme in favour of a United Nations police force and aid for underprivileged lands."

After the meeting Dr. Finlay told the Star:

"Someone has got to break out of this vicious cycle, and the break will never come until somebody does what everybody thinks ought to be done."

A good many question marks hang over the United Nations police force issue, we know, but an advance is registered with the declaration that "defence by attack with nuclear weapons is a denial of the spirit of Christian faith."

The big debate still rages in Canada with the first round to the persistent pacifists.

What pacifists have to say today makes sense. Keep Peace News in the forefront as the pacifist battler's ammunition carrier. Never was the money required to keep Peace News rolling off the Press able to do a better job than it does today.

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THE EDITOR.

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Twilight of imperialism

THE PRESENT VIOLENCE in Nyasaland is no surprise. It arises from the betrayal by which the peoples of the Protectorate were incorporated quite unwillingly and without any consultation into the Central African Federation.

In this situation the leaders of the Nyasaland African Congress have been arrested and the people left with no voice. Troops have been rushed into the land and a state of emergency proclaimed. Many Africans have been killed, and some have started to respond with violence.

Nyasaland has had a better record for harmonious race relations than anywhere in Africa. But these conditions have been undermined, and ferment is likely to continue until the review next year of the Federal constitution.

★ ★ ★

WHAT ENLIGHTENED ATTITUDE can be taken to colonial and semi-colonial lands to ensure that the twilight of imperialism is brief and allows of future happiness?

The first consideration is to fix a firm date for complete independence, arranged with representatives of the subject peoples.

It is the lack of this initial step that opens up the road to violence. Is the lesson of Cyprus so quickly forgotten? Too often the Colonial Power prevaricates and the White-settler Government can postpone indefinitely any thought of the matter.

It must be fairly recognised, however, that not all colonial peoples may want immediate independence, and there may be a delay of several years if they wish.

The Gold Coast, for example, needed more time before the emergence of Ghana for the people to develop a more stable social order to benefit them after independence.

Once independence day is fixed, the Imperial Power and the colonial people should work to that date, with preparations in the fields of education, administration and genuine racial partnership. When the date arrives, the Colonial Power leaves unless asked to remain.

Such a policy makes possible the only truly stable society in an ex-colonial territory: a free land where there is racial harmony and no legacy of hatred for the former Rulers.

★ ★ ★

WITHOUT DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS, however, oppressed people have a clear right to act unconstitutionally. If the Imperial Power refuses independence and allows no democratic means of change, no other response could be adequate.

Such action will be much more powerful if it includes non-violent resistance to the denial of democratic rights. And those in the Imperial Powers who advocate such a programme will be in a far stronger position to do so if they have adopted it themselves in their own situation.

Non-violent resistance is a powerful and proper means of securing democratic rights and colonial freedom. It is no easy road; it cannot be undertaken lightly. But it alone in the face of entrenched White domination opens the way to creating a truly peaceful and democratic society.

★ ★ ★

A SCHOOL OF THOUGHT exists amongst some old-style liberals which is particularly dangerous. They favour colonial freedom in principle, but line up in horror solidly behind the Imperial Power at the first sign of violent resistance.

This outlook ignores the fundamental permanent violence of colonialism.

To take over another man's country and deny him his voice is violence. The fact that it is a more "stable" and respectable type of violence than armed resistance does not alter this basic consideration.

Nobody can condemn violence by subject peoples who has not utterly rejected the permanent suppression by the Imperial Power which creates the conditions of conflict.

No one, likewise, can recommend to colonial peoples non-violent resistance who has not implicit faith in the power and rightness of such a course. It is in such a spirit that we commend it today.

Mac tours and . . .

IT may sound nonsensical to say that Mr. Macmillan's journey to Moscow will not be complete until he has returned from his trips to Paris, Bonn and Washington. But it is true in every sense except the geographical. For it is on the outcome of these further journeys that the genuineness or mere pretence of western unity depends and, therefore, the measure of success to be expected from the coming Soviet-Western negotiations.

The situation calls for attention to two points, one certain, the other highly probable. The certain one is that no skilful plastering-over of differences between the Westerners will escape the lynx-eyed observation of Moscow, and that differences, if there is the slightest clue to any, will be fully exploited by Mr. Khrushchov.

The highly probable point is that Mr. Macmillan will find it less difficult to make certain of unity with Washington than with Paris and Bonn. He might have done better to go to Washington first, to face Paris—and still more so Bonn—with a unified British-American standpoint.

As it is, he seems to be tackling the stronger, and the strongest, opponents of the ideas adumbrated in the Moscow talks before having made certain that he could present them to President de Gaulle and Chancellor Adenauer as agreed to by President Eisenhower.

In the meantime Mr. Khrushchov, who has always denied that his six-months notice (expiring on May 27) for negotiations about Berlin was an ultimatum, has further weakened resistance to his proposals by his Leipzig declaration: "Dates do not matter. We have no intention of precipitating matters on Berlin." Even more specifically, he went on to say, "We have arranged to hand over our powers (to the East German authorities) on May 27. But it could be June 27 or July 27—or even later."

But it is an enormous pity that this gratifying proof of the Russian will to peace should have followed within 24 hours by as cynical an illustration of the shabbiness of world politics as Mr. Khrushchov's drinking of a toast to Alfred Krupp, who, until a matter of days earlier, featured in Soviet propaganda as a blood-drenched war criminal and a human being unfit to live.

. . . K. proposes

AS for the Russian proposals themselves, it would be plain madness not to recognise them as an eminently suitable basis for negotiation. The present situation cannot help constituting Europe's focal point of danger. To perpetuate it means the perpetuation of conditions liable, at any moment, to flare up into something rendering war inevitable.

Soviet interests are so deeply involved in the West's inclusion of Western Germany in NATO that the proposal to turn West Berlin into a free city under United Nations supervision cannot be turned aside contemptuously as a mere act of attempted Communist expansion.

The only legitimate point of objection is that the West Berliners must not be exposed to the danger of being dragged into the net of a Communist régime. Nor is it possible to discover the least military advantage which the Russians would derive for themselves even if West Berlin were swallowed into their domination.

Whether the West accepts or refuses to believe in Moscow's assurances of peaceful intentions all over the world, at least as far as the Berlin issue is concerned, it would be foolish to doubt them.

Europe's Left

MR. ANEURIN BEVAN made the most coherent and cogent contribution to the discussion on "The Left in Europe" that was published in last Sunday's Observer. It is worth looking at Mr. Bevan's contribution to see just where the official "Left" now stands.

Mr. Bevan's position is a simple Marxist one. For him, the economic contradictions of capitalist society are the central problems of the moment: "The malaise of the right in Western Europe, including the United States, lies in the fact that it is beginning to dawn on even the most astute theoreticians that the economic problems of Western society are practically insoluble in the terms that they are meeting them."

It is not clear that this is so. A favourite habit of socialists, particularly Marxists, for some time now has been to predict an approaching economic catastrophe. The catastrophe has not yet come. It seems highly likely that capitalism with the aid of Keynesian

economic techniques and a permanent war economy can maintain a reasonable degree of stability.

But even if Mr. Bevan is right, there is a problem. So far the Left has been unable to convince people of the correctness of its analysis; everywhere in Western Europe, the Left is either on the retreat or marking time. Mr. Bevan seemed to hint that there would have to be a slump before people would realise the position.

This is surely the negation of effective politics. Our main aim should be to prevent slumps and other political disasters, not to wait until they happen and then put them right. The bankruptcy of socialism at the moment is that it has no answer to this problem. It has to wait on history.

We ourselves do not believe that the possibility of economic collapse is the most important problem at the moment. We are convinced that the central problem is war. It is the problem that no society, capitalist or any other kind, has been able to solve. Mr. Bevan was only able to suggest a solution in the old terms of diplomacy and power politics. "But surely there is no fundamental conflict between working for world collaboration and alliances? There is no more justification for the Warsaw bloc than there is for the Nato alliance. While you have them both, it is natural that people should want to protect themselves."

Nor did Mr. Bevan seem to have much faith in people. "I do not believe that you can persuade large numbers of people in France or Britain, for example, to believe that they would be perfectly safe without any friends. It might be true that they would be safe, but do you think that this can be put forward as a popular theme?"

If this is all the Left can offer, then it is not surprising that it is unable to make any progress. It is perfectly clear that there needs to be some very fundamental rethinking if the Left is to be once again a serious challenge in Europe.

After Suez

THE final chapter of the Suez fiasco has now been written with the Cairo financial agreement. Nobody seriously expected this agreement to satisfy those British subjects who had entered compensation claims as a result of the war in 1956.

It is merely a frank recognition of the facts: that the invasion of Egypt was an incredible piece of folly that achieved less than nothing; that President Nasser's pilots are quite capable of running the canal; that the British were not starving within a month of the blocking of the canal; that, in short, all the excuses of the imperialists in 1956 were mere claptrap, and now the British Government has had to eat humble pie.

It is now very doubtful whether there will be another adventure quite in the style of Suez. The last one could not continue in the face of the Soviet-US coalition. Limited wars in future will either quickly become global nuclear wars (as so nearly happened in 1956) or be terminated by concerted "policing" by the two Superpowers.

If these activities reminiscent of the heyday of imperialism are no longer possible, we must ask what is the use of military force today? There are two possible answers. The first is the deterrent theory. This theory has been utterly exploded and exists purely to save politicians, top brass and their public following from the embarrassment of having to recognise the facts and think. If it is well known that a "deterrent" cannot possibly be used, it is no deterrent. It is merely a bluff which is deceiving no one.

The other possible use of militarism today is such as is now being undertaken in Central Africa as the instrument for denying people their rights and prolonging White domination. The Rev. Michael Scott, Father Trevor Huddleston and others associated with the Africa Bureau in London have stated that the Nyasaland situation "cannot be settled by the use of military force." This is no mere trite assertion; it is an obvious truth.

Nobody could demonstrate how militarism could bring a settlement in Cyprus; nobody can now show how it can produce peace in Central Africa. But it can readily serve as the instrument of suppression contrary to the UN Charter.

Here, then, we see the use of preparation for mass-violence today. It is for wars which cannot be won, threats which cannot be implemented, and settlements which cannot be genuine. And they say that the pacifist is naïve and unrealistic!

IN AFRICA

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Votes and the Bomb

MR. RANDLE and others have put forward the suggestion that supporters of the Nuclear Disarmament Campaign should be pressed to withhold their vote at a General Election. Surely this idea is quite serious enough to deserve that you should take it seriously; which means, among other things, a serious consideration of the objections which have been advanced against it. In my letter to the New Statesman (Feb. 21) I mentioned half a dozen. You saw fit to deal with none of them (In Perspective, Feb. 27).

Perhaps you were unable to do so, and for this reason took refuge in a mish-mash of smear and misrepresentation. For example, your readers are given to understand that I plan to "put the Campaign into cold storage until after the Election." There is, of course, no shadow of grounds for this mis-statement. I have never said, written or intended anything of the kind. On the contrary, I and my colleagues on the National Executive are at this moment devising a list of activities for bringing nuclear disarmament in to the forefront at Election time—a list which does not include campaigning for a Voters' Veto simply because, for the reasons which I have already stated and which you ignore, we are convinced that it would do the Campaign more harm than good.

If these reasons are valid—and they have yet to be contested—then it seems a strange kind of conscience that would prompt a campaigner to activities which are calculated to obstruct his own objective. To quote Mr. Silverman's metaphor, it would be a curious policy to sink our ship "in order to prove how brave we are!"

Again you write, "we shall probably see the whole Campaign buried by its Executive before it has a chance to endanger, in a General Election, the chances of Parties committed to H-bomb policies." How deliberately disingenuous is the use of the word "Parties"! The plural, mark you. Of course, there is no prospect whatever of endangering "the chances of Parties committed to H-bomb policies." They are both committed and one of them has to win. We can only endanger the chances of the Labour Party, as Mr. Randle, a more honest controversialist, admits. The issue we have to decide is whether endangering Labour Party prospects would help the Campaign or hinder it. This central issue, of course, you also ignore.

Some of your arguments advocate the right of voters to withhold their votes, with the implication that I had argued to the contrary, though in fact, as you well knew, I had described this right as unassailable.

And so on and so forth *ad nauseam* throughout a full column.

I will refer only to one further paragraph, perhaps the most disreputable of all. I mean the insinuation that members of the National Executive who are also members of the Labour Party are devoting themselves to the Campaign not out of conviction, but as stool-pigeons for Transport House, planning to bring the Campaign to "impotence at the appropriate moment."

The allegation that people like Michael Foot, Richard Acland, Ted Bedford, Kingsley Martin, or even myself, whose independence throughout our political lives has been an unflinching source of complaint inside the Labour Party, should now be secretly toeing the party line while acting as a fifth column for Transport House inside the Campaign is so extravagant that it could not possibly have been made in good faith. Whether this was a crude attempt to discredit those who disagree with you on a matter of tactics or to engender bad blood and disunite the Campaign, only you can know. But it is a pity that the Editor of Peace News, before reducing controversy to a level of fraudulence that it would be hard to match in the yellow Press, did not pause to ask himself whether fraud is not every bit as immoral as force.—BENN W. LEVY, 66 Old Church St., London, S.W.3.

We concede to Mr. Levy that the reference to "Parties" that he calls dis-

ingenuous was a bit of loose phrasing, and that we should have spoken of "a Party." There are two Parties committed to an H-bomb policy and both of them are likely to lose votes if, as we anticipate, the Voters' Veto proposal is taken up by many of those who are opposed to the British manufacture of nuclear arms.

It is only the effect on the Labour Party, however with which Mr. Levy and a number of his colleagues are concerned, and he is, of course, quite right in suggesting that it is the Labour Party that will lose the greater number of votes. This is because earlier votes will in many cases have been given to the Labour Party in the delusion that this Party might be brought to take a different attitude on the H-bomb.

Mr. Levy's letter is coloured by the kind of invective of which we must expect to have a great deal if the Labour Party is seriously examined by those who are opposed to its policy on this issue of such overwhelmingly vital importance.

When he characterises as extravagant the suggestion that he and others are "secretly toeing the Party line" he misconceives the suggestion that has actually been made. There is no question of secrecy about it. Every one of Mr. Levy's colleagues who will contest a constituency in the coming election will have given an undertaking that he will "toe the Party line" according to the discipline imposed by the Party, and this undertaking will cover the question of the Party's attitude on the H-bomb.

As we have remarked, there is no secret about this. Everybody who knows anything about the operations of political parties today is aware of it. We have recently seen it in operation when Frank Allaun, MP, proposed to vote on this matter according to his convictions. It is possible, of course, that the list of activities for the General Election that Mr. Levy and his colleagues are devising will include a way of dealing with this point. We shall await the list with great interest, and should this aspect be adequately met it will of course put the matter in a different perspective.

If this point is not met, however, and the leading Campaigners nevertheless participate in the election in support of Labour Party policy they will, we repeat, be burying the campaign for the duration of the election; and, unless there are others who are facing the issue in a different spirit, we do not believe there will be any resurrection.

It would be impossible for us to comment on all the points that Mr. Levy made in his letter to the New Statesman. May we comment on two?

Mr. Levy wrote: "Decisive action must come in Parliament. This means a full-scale insurrection of MPs in the House of Commons. No such thing will happen before the general election." We want the same full-scale insurrection. But we want candidates to be honest with the electors about what they intend to do. Mr. Levy seems to prefer that Labour MPs be elected on the understanding that they will abide by the standing orders of the Party and that they should then go against this undertaking.

There is not one word in Mr. Levy's letter about the great majority of people in this country who are not politically committed in any important sense. THESE are the people we must convince if we are to get anywhere. Does Mr. Levy really think that voting for candidates who want the Bomb or candidates who will not back up their speeches in the Commons by voting will impress people who are politically apathetic that the Bomb is the most important issue we have ever had to face? —[Ed.]

THE letters of Ron Huzzard and others prompt me to ask them whether they honestly think that the substitution of George Brown, Shinwell, etc., for Sandys, Soames, etc., in the appropriate offices would make any real difference with regard to the most important issue of the day.

If, of course, the sincere pacifist supporters of the Labour Party could persuade that Party's leaders to cross the floor of the House and join their soul-mates on the

Your EASTER help can mean so much to him...



"I have T.B. meningitis. Everyone thought I was going to die, but I'm better now, thanks to help from overseas." A small patient in a Korean children's hospital.

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"He was hungry, and we fed Him; naked, and we clothed Him; an alien, and we gave Him admission." Or did we? Millions of sick, hungry and homeless people are still in urgent need of our aid; hundreds of thousands of refugees from Palestine alone. WILL YOU, at this season, do something for them which will help to bring hope back from the grave.



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MEDICAL AID

Vitamin tablets for 10 sick children for 1 month (10/-). Special diet and medicines for 1 month for tubercular refugee (£5).

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Good meal provided for 360 Korean orphans (£1.10.). One distribution of hot milk to 1,000 children in Hong Kong (£3).

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10 warm blankets purchased and dispatched (£5).

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Refugee apprentice supported for 1 week (£1.10.).

SUPPORTERS INCLUDE:—Vera Brittain,
The Very Rev. George F. MacLeod, Dame Sybil Thorndike.

Tory benches some of us might be persuaded to vote Labour. However, while that Party is chiefly concerned to win the votes of those who have no convictions it should not hope to retain the votes of those who have.—LEONARD TOMKINSON, 144 Muswell Hill Road, London, N.10.

IT would be interesting to know what Mr. Higgins means by "the logical extension of War, We Say No," especially since he appears to be condemning someone of pursuing a persistent policy of oblivion to the fact that there is any.

It is perfectly plain that the logical extension of War, We Say No, is Total Unilateral Disarmament—We Say Yes. This has been the consistent policy of the PPU.

The uproar over the Voters' Veto confirms me, personally, in my belief that the only realistic policy today is precisely No More War, which naturally includes no more nuclear weapons. It is totally unrealistic to expect to convince Government or Opposition that they should abandon weapons while they still rely upon the method of war. It is war that has to go.

It is not fences that stand in the way of achievement; it is all the different roads by which pacifists believe they can reach their end that tend to disperse energy, but let us at least not waste energy in bitterness against each other. All pacifists are united in saying No to War; perhaps we ought to be saying it more loudly and more clearly, but let us at least agree to say it!—SYBIL MORRISON, Chairman, Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

EMRYS HUGHES and Frank Allaun are, as Ethel Mannin says, "valuable voices in the House from the pacifist-socialist point of view." (Fenner Brockway is not a pacifist.) However, if we vote for Labour (or any other) candidates who oppose pacifist-socialist views and support making and using nuclear weapons, we shall be strengthening pro-war forces in the House.

Many Conservatives in 1945 canvassed for their candidates with pictures of Churchill and the slogan "Vote Churchill." I trust Labour pacifists are not contemplating using "Vote Emrys Hughes" to procure votes for the pro-H-bomb majority of Labour candidates.—RONALD S. MAILONE, 141 Woolacombe Rd., London, S.E.3.

H-bomb Parties

I RESPECT the sincerity of those who support what is known as the "Voters' Veto" and their right to their opinion. I do not agree with it because I believe that Labour's policy of neutralising the three danger areas of the world—Germany and Central Europe, the Middle East and the Far East—offers the greatest chance of saving mankind from a war in which the hydrogen bomb would be used.

I write, however, to correct a mistake which you made, I am sure inadvertently, in an editorial last week. You said that Labour MPs who oppose nuclear arms voted for an amendment to the Defence White Paper which asked for more efficient nuclear defence.

We did not do so. The vote was for or against a Government motion supporting the White Paper. The official Labour amendment would have arisen only if the Government motion had been defeated. I and others went into the division lobby against the whole damnable thing.

I told my constituents that this was my mind when I voted. I am sure that this was the mind also of many of my colleagues.

Many readers of PN have written to me on this subject. I am afraid it is impossible to reply individually, and I shall be glad if they will accept this letter as an acknowledgement.—FENNER BROCKWAY, House of Commons, London, S.W.1.

Fenner Brockway is technically right, and we apologise to him and his colleagues. What we meant was that since nearly all the Labour speakers except Mr. Zilliacus spoke in terms of the official Labour amendment, it appeared as if all the MPs who voted against the Government motion supported that amendment. People who are politically active might well know that MPs like Fenner Brockway, Sydney Silverman and Victor Yates were not voting in that sense. But did the general public? We felt that the issue was so important that MPs should have made their position absolutely clear to EVERYBODY on such an important vote as the vote on the Defence White Paper, even if that meant dividing the House on an amendment that was opposed to official Labour policy.—[Ed.]



THE CHANGES OF THE PAST AND THE NEED FOR NOW AND BEYOND

WHAT ABOUT 1994?

By Wilfred Wellock

The following article formed the substance of an address given by Wilfred Wellock to a gathering organised by Peace News in London recently to mark his eightieth birthday.

I HAD hoped to pass my eightieth milestone in silence, for I dread the very thought of being regarded as an old man. But as I have been found out, then at least I may claim the right to speak as an octogenarian, "above the battle," as it were, with a critical eye on an age that is vainly seeking a new El Dorado in a howling wilderness.

I find it painful to reflect that in general pacifists have failed to keep pace with the times; have failed to perceive the true nature of the changes that have taken place during the last 45 years, and their deep significance for pacifism.

Why do so many pacifists hold on to the skeletons of spent ideas? As most Peace News readers know, I have been discarding mine during the last 15 or 20 years to the dismay, I must confess, of many of my friends.

I was one of the first in the pacifist movement to draw attention to the emergence of the industrial mass-man, and to point out the social, moral, economic and political implications of his existence and his probable multiplication.

Aldous Huxley, another pacifist, gave us a vivid and alarming picture of the Brave New World of scientifically organised mass-men. Orwell's "1984" carried this dehumanising process to its logical conclusion in the realm of politics.

"1984" is not very far away, but the age it depicts is stealing upon us more rapidly than most people realise. Yet what many pacifists have failed to grasp is that the conditions that are hastening "1984" have shattered the foundations of their pristine faith.

Decline in values

In 1914 I believed devoutly that wars would cease when men refused to fight. Not many years later I perceived that the mass-man was in the ascendant, and that his multiplication would probably prevent my dream from coming true.

The mechanisms which gave us mass-production of commodities gave us also the mass-man, and the weapons of his ultimate destruction unless... Those three things hang together like Siamese triplets.

In 1914 it was still possible to speak of progress in terms of a continual all-round development of our civilisation and of its citizens. It did not happen, and it is not happening now. Phenomenal economic or material advancement has been accompanied by a serious decline in human, social and cultural values, culture having become the servant of prosperity, trade, commerce and armaments.

In 1914 there was still such a thing as piety, also numerous widely accepted and esteemed moral standards and restraints. Definite bounds were set to human behaviour in many fields, to self-indulgence, while the cultivation of happy human relationships was instinctive. These conditions were a source of personal strength, freedom, and satisfaction and of social stability and solidarity.

Collapse of freedoms

It is also true that in 1914 an accumulation of stuffy Victorian morals and conventions had still to be thrown overboard, but the loosening-up process was carried too far, causing much valuable treasure to be thrown out with the garbage.

In the four years of war which followed the loosening-up process ran amok. Democracy on the march, in battle array, was a new and bewildering experience. In July, 1914, conscription in these islands was inconceivable, impossible. Within two years it had become an established fact. Its legacy of evil will never be tabulated. Citadel after citadel of freedom collapsed during four years of total war.

The material destruction of the war is known; its spiritual destruction we shall never know. Lost spiritual values are never wholly recovered from war's debris.

In the war to end war and save democracy Russia passed from Czarism to Commissarism, while in the peace which followed German democracy was superseded by Nazism—a product of the Peace Treaty which contained the seeds of the second World War.

Working class awakening

The war was responsible for other changes also. Its fabulous demands for powerful and complex mechanical weapons called for unprecedented advances in production technology, which, later applied to peace production, led directly into the era of automation.

When, after a few years, production levels began to rise more steeply, demands for higher living standards became increasingly claimant and frequent.

At the same time the tendency towards industrial and financial centralisation became increasingly manifest, and, as if to keep in step, the centralisation of Trade Union organisation went strongly ahead. Hence all was set for a display of power politics in the field of sharing the national income.

The precise nature of that conflict was yet to be determined. The economic man was on the way, but not yet fully fledged. His evolution is of historical importance.

It was in the eighteen-nineties that the great awakening of the British working classes took place. Its chief cause was the rapid spread of socialist propaganda, which had two streams, one almost exclusively economic, the other blending economic factors with spiritual values.

It was the latter which captured the imagination of the thinking sections of the working class in the North, especially the young men who were active workers in Nonconformist churches.

This propaganda was expounded by a very fine group of speakers who were the backbone of the Independent Labour Party, people like Keir Hardie, Philip Snowden, the Glasiers, the Andersons. William Morris and Edward Carpenter were poetic exponents of this two-sided Socialism. The aims were a juster distribution of the national wealth, and a fuller life for the worker, to include a share of responsibility in the running of industry and in giving shape to the nation's intellectual and artistic life.

Controversy in churches

The repercussions of this propaganda swept through Lancashire like a whirlwind. The controversy over the relationship between capitalism, Socialism and Christianity penetrated into most Nonconformist churches. It entered ours, and as a teenager I was in the thick of it. The capitalists and their supporters condemned Socialism for its materialism, expressed in demands for higher wages and a shorter working day. The Socialists replied with a wealth of figures which proclaimed that the colossal profits of capitalism bespoke a shameless materialism which transgressed every Christian principle.

Unfortunately most church ministers sided with the vested interests, whence in due course the live young men who had become Socialists or were inclined towards Socialism, either withdrew from or were cold-shouldered out of the churches. The upshot was that in the 20 years between 1900 and 1920, which included a social upheaval and World War I, there occurred a tremendous exodus from the Nonconformist churches throughout the industrial North, from which they never recovered.

The combined effect of these momentous events upon our British way of life has been far greater than the present generation realises, and indeed has never received the attention it deserves. One effect was the almost complete fading out of a demand for spiritual values in Labour and Trade Union propaganda during the nineteen-twenties. In fact, we had entered a new world, a very strange world, and without realising its true nature and its implications. The spiritual values of the "nineties" were superseded by the "bread and butter" politics of the 1920s and thirties. Labour had taken over the money values of capitalism.

The result is that the major political concern of our time is the distribution of the national income, and thus which social section can secure the biggest share. Every year must yield its quota of new spending. Formerly there had been a growing demand for equality of incomes. It has latterly been replaced by a universal demand for differentials. Every industry and profession struggles to maintain or raise its status in the scale of differentials, as indeed do numerous sections within each one. Thus every vocation and every job has a cash value. Even a minor increase in qualifications must be registered in the pay packet.

To such depths of degradation have politics and culture sunk that vocation, that sacred function of the aspiring soul, of upward looking youth, has quietly bowed and departed.

Mass-man mentality

The great majority of people are thus being driven by the very nature of things to work for money, and for money only, and thus to be materialists. There is no escape, for money is the only incentive to labour now recognised. Money means high living standards, or maximum consumption of goods and services. The economic mass-man expects to satisfy all his needs by means of cash; and the mass-man mentality exists at every social level.

The economic mass-man is the supreme problem of our age and the biggest obstacle to world disarmament and peace.

His era is here, although his perfection is not quite attained. The latest instruments to chisel him into perfection are advertising and hire purchase. The advertisers and the HP financiers are the supreme mind conditioners of today. Their professed aim is to stimulate trade by giving aid to the needy. What they are actually doing is to stimulate the hire purchase habit by encouraging the spending mania and the devouring propensities of an ever-widening public. They now know how to catch Mrs. Jones, and once she appears in the HP bandwagon success is assured.

Thus HP debt steadily rises, and at times becomes a source of worry. What is to be done? A bigger income becomes essential. What about a better-paid job, or a supplementary job?

Thus millions of minds are being dragged down to the mundane level, when they become impervious to all the vital issues in public, national and international life, dead to every creative, artistic or other spiritual impulse.

Where "advertisers in depth" and HP purveyors are given their head by the State and backed by that once boasted bulwark of our national integrity, the Joint Stock

Banks, there is no need for a Hitler or a Stalin, or a special mind-conditioning State Department.

The road is wide open. The USA, with the world's highest living standards, has a per-capita HP indebtedness seven times greater than ours.

The significance of this situation for pacifists is immense. How do pacifists propose to win over Mrs. Jones, her friend Mrs. Brown, and the economic mass-man to the idea of unilateral disarmament?

Many years ago that proposal excited alarm. But not today! Even Governments are unmoved by it. They know they are safe. Their anchor is the economic mass-man buttressed by an expanding economy, HP and the Welfare State!

Indeed, the advocacy of total unilateral disarmament has become the line of least resistance. No one, no statesman, worries about it.

Era of the whole man

The line of greatest resistance is to try to discover how to supersede the economic mass-man with the whole man, who must be the foundation of a peaceful world.

The first condition of human wholeness is a culture, philosophy or religion which unifies material and spiritual values in vocational or social living. This might be described as self and social fulfilment through socially motivated self-giving.

Such a culture and way of life, together with a social order in which it can find full expression, is our great need today, and to its realisation pacifists should devote most of their time, energy and talents.

Aldous Huxley has recently revisited his Brave New World, and found it more alarming than before, while Orwell's "1984" is creeping in through unsuspected doors. The only hope is a new man and a new civilisation. Why not, and why not fix the date of their coming? What about 1994??

NUCLEAR WAR?

“...if we are to survive”

Meeting

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Sunday, March 15

7 p.m.

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- (A) To attend the Annual General Meeting at The Bristowe, Bristol, on April 18 and 19. (B) To vote in the Annual Elections for National Chairman and Nine Members of Council.

- (A) APPLICATIONS FOR TICKET, Agenda, etc., should be sent to the General Secretary, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1., enclosing 2s. 6d.

- (B) BALLOT PAPERS will be posted to all signatories on the live file. Any signatory who has not received one by March 21 should write to the General Secretary.

DIARY

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive first post Mon.
2. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street), nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, March 13

BIRMINGHAM: 7 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bull St. Film: "March to Aldermaston." Speaker: Pat Arrowsmith. CND.

LONDON, E.17: 7.45 p.m.; Ross Wyld Hall, Church Hill. Films: "Boundary Lines" and "Japanese Fishermen," followed by "Any Questions?" Rev. Ronald Waters, Rev. John Myer, A. L. Bradshaw, MSc. Mary Teuber, BA. Chair: Harold Furner. For.

LONDON, S.W.18: 7.30 p.m. 13 Elsenham St., Southfields. The Vedantic Outlook by Swami Ayyakantananda—Suffering. The Vedanta Movement.

Friday and Saturday, March 13 and 14

HENLEY-ON-THAMES: Town Hall. Exhibition. Tape Recordings and Films. Friday 6.30-10 p.m. Saturday 2.30-10 p.m. CND.

Saturday, March 14

LONDON, E.11: 7.15 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Group Annual Reunion. Concert, Refreshments. PPU.

LONDON, S.E.13: 8 p.m.; St. Mark's Vicarage, Clarendon Rise, Lewisham. Debate, "A Pacifist Should Not Vote Labour in the Next Election." For.

LONDON, W.C.1: 11 a.m.; Conway Hall. Sir Richard Acland. Universities Campaign Lecture. **STEVENAGE:** 3.30 p.m.; New Town Centre. Open-air speaking and Peace News selling. CND.

Sunday, March 15

ABERDEEN: 3 p.m.; Round Room, Music Hall. Roy Campbell and Mary Klopfer. Chair: Dr. J. Finney. CND.

EWELL: 3 p.m. 94 Park Ave. East. Malcolm Elliott "Friends Ambulance Unit International." Surrey Area PPU.

Monday, March 16

LONDON, S.W.1: 10.30 a.m. and 2.15 p.m. Ebury Bridge Ho., Ebury Bridge Rd. CO Tribunal.

LONDON, W.C.1: 6 p.m.; Endsleigh St. 6 p.m.; Refreshments. 6.30 p.m.; Allen Skinner on "Current Affairs." Central London PPU.

SHIPLEY: 7.30 p.m. Labour Party Rooms. Westgate. PPU.

Tuesday, March 17

LONDON, N.22: 8 p.m. Trinity Grammar School, Bounds Green Rd., Wood Green. John Horner, Michael Scott. Chair: Coun. A. C. Partridge. CND.

LONDON, S.W.19: 7.45 p.m.; Compton Hall, Compton Rd. "Can Politicians keep the Peace?" Questions answered by Ethel Mannin and Stuart Morris, also Labour and Liberal Candidates. Chair: Robert Pollard. PPU.

MANCHESTER: 7.45 p.m. 23 Church St., Strtford. Manchester Central PPU Group.

Wednesday, March 18

BELEFAST: 8 p.m. Friends Institute, Frederick St. Group Meeting. For.

BIRMINGHAM: 7.45 p.m.; 3 Wentworth Rd., Olton. Members Meeting PPU.

LONDON, N.4: 7.30 p.m. Peace News Office, Blackstock Rd., Don Bannister. "The Psychology of a Fraternal Society." PYAG.

LONDON, N.9: 8 p.m.; Congregational Ch., Lower Fore St., Edmonton. Rev. Clifford Hill (author of "Black and White in Harmony"). All welcome. PPU.

Thursday, March 19

LIVERPOOL: 7.45 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Hunter St. AGM business. Group Meeting PPU.

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Dorothy Frith. PPU.

LONDON, N.13: 8 p.m.; 33 Devonshire Rd., Palmers Green. Group AGM. PPU.

Friday, March 20

LANCASTER: 7.30 p.m.; Committee Room A, Town Hall, A. Smith, BA. "The Proper Study of Man." International College of Paxology.

MANCHESTER: 3: 10.30 a.m.; Arkwright Ho., Parsonage Gdns. CO Appellate Tribunal.

Saturday, March 21

ALTON: 6.30 p.m.; "Hillcrest." Windmill Hill. Discussion on PPU Non-violence Working Party's Outline of Study. Young Peacekeepers.

Tuesday, March 24

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; 6 Endsleigh St. All PPU members welcome. London Area PPU.

Wednesday, March 25

BRISTOL: 7 p.m.; 9 Cossins Rd. (off Coldharbour Rd.), Redland. AGM preparation and talk on German re-unification. PPU.

LONDON, N.4: 7.30 p.m.; Peace News Office, 3 Blackstock Rd., John Banks. "Achievement of a Fraternal Society." PYAG.

LONDON, N.W.1: 6.30 p.m.; Friends Ho., Euston Rd. "Peace Forum." Questions and discussion with Panel from Standing Joint Pacifist Committee.

Every week!

SATURDAYS

LONDON, W.C.1: 3 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St. Poster Parade followed by meeting at Manette St. PPU and PYAG.

SUNDAYS

LONDON: 3 p.m. Hyde Park. Speaker's Corner. Pacifist Forum. PYAG.

LONDON: 3 p.m. Clapham Common. Open air mtg. The Brotherhood of the Way.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: Weekend Workcamps. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

LONDON, N.4: 7 p.m. Peace News Office, 3 Blackstock Rd. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

THE MAN AND THE BOMB!

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African plot
or white
hoax?

By FENNER BROCKWAY MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom

THE Government's story of an African plot in Nyasaland to murder and massacre Europeans was received with scepticism. We have become accustomed to these scares. But I found the version of the Governor of Nyasaland most significant.

What he said was that the Government had received evidence of a carefully prepared African Congress plan "designed to disrupt Government services, to destroy communications, and to bring about widespread violence directed against property and lives."

Sir Robert Armitage's phrase about violence is almost the stock formula for any movement organising resistance to imperial authority. How often we heard it in India about the National Congress even under Gandhi's leadership! I find it difficult to believe that the Governor would not have said more to justify his declaration of an emergency if evidence of planned mass murder had been in his hands.

Banda's influence

I am quite certain that Dr. Hastings K. Banda—he now calls himself Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda to identify himself with the people to whom he has returned—has had nothing to do with any plan involving violence. Both his personality and philosophy recoil from pain and death.

His patients in London, Ghana and Nyasaland revered him for his selfless devotion. I've heard stories in Ghana of how he would hold a dying baby in his arms until the last moment seeking to make the end easier.

I know that he planned to follow the Gandhi technique of non-violence in Nyasaland. He has talked to me about it. Disrupting Government services and communications, perhaps. But violence, never.

Those who know the recent history of the Nyasaland African Congress are amazed by the action of the Governor and the British Government in deporting Dr. Banda at this moment. His influence could have been decisive in removing the fear of anything like the "murder and massacre" which Mr. Lennox-Boyd gave as the reason for justifying his arrest. The deaths which have occurred in Nyasaland since the declaration of the emergency are the result not of any conspiracy by the African Congress but of its suppression, the deportation of its leaders, and the introduction of troops and police from racially-minded Southern Rhodesia.

Violence ousted

Surely the Governor knows what has been happening in Congress? There were members who in despair were feeling violently and who were thinking in terms of violence.

They were ousted when Hastings Banda was invited to return as leader. None of the present officials of Congress, none of the colleagues of Dr. Banda, belonged to this group. They deliberately built up Dr. Banda as an almost Messianic leader to destroy the influence of the advocates of violence.

The danger now is that, with Dr. Banda and his colleagues removed, the violent fringe outside Congress will come to the fore. They will plan on the anger which the Government's actions and the presence of Southern Rhodesian forces have aroused.

No doubt Mr. Lennox-Boyd will then claim that any violence which occurs will justify his allegations of a plot. The exact opposite will be the truth. The deportation of Dr. Banda and the suppression of Congress will have engendered the anger ex-

pressed in the violence and will have given extremist elements, held in check by Dr. Banda and the Congress, the opportunity to stimulate it.

Lord Perth's visit

The Government has answered the Opposition's claim that the crisis in Nyasaland is the result of a design by the Prime Ministers of Southern Rhodesia and the Central African Federation to have a "show-down" (and as a Back Bencher I want to pay my tribute to the forthright courage of the Labour Front Bench) by the curious argument that Sir Robert Armitage's repeated assurances that there was no need to declare an Emergency were bluff, that he was deliberately refraining from exciting the people to begin their "murder and massacre" until adequate troops had arrived from the Rhodesias. He is alleged to have had knowledge of the sinister plot for ten days. It was because of this that Lord Perth's visit for talks on constitutional changes was postponed.

I have definite evidence that Lord Perth was still expecting to visit Nyasaland within six days of the declaration of the emergency. I wrote to Mr. Lennox-Boyd on Monday, February 23, urging that Lord Perth should see Dr. Hastings Banda on his visit. On Wednesday, February 25, I received a letter from Mr. Lennox-Boyd's secretary saying that, in the absence of the Colonial Secretary in Aden, he had shown my letter to Lord Perth who had authorised him to reply that he proposed to discuss the constitutional changes with representatives of all the political parties in Nyasaland.

On that date he clearly intended to proceed to Nyasaland and to meet Dr. Banda, the leader of the largest party. Would the Colonial Office have sent me such a letter within six days of the declaration of the Emergency if they had had knowledge of any plot by the African Congress for "murder and massacre"? Would Lord Perth have anticipated that he would meet Dr. Banda to discuss constitutional changes?

One cannot foresee immediate consequences in Nyasaland and Central Africa. But one can foresee the long-term consequences.

Harder struggle

The Prime Ministers of the Federation and Southern Rhodesia have killed the Federation. No one can now expect that Nyasaland, with its more than 99 per cent African population, will ever agree to join the European-dominated Rhodesias. It is an irony of history that those who threatened a "Boston Tea Party" to defend Federation should be the instrument of its destruction.

The issue of democracy and freedom in Central Africa has been joined. Nyasaland will probably emerge from it first. I expect to see Dr. Banda its Prime Minister within five years. After that the African populations of the Rhodesias will carry on the still harder struggle for equality and liberty.

In Britain, throughout Africa, in Asia, in the world, millions of people, unwilling to tolerate racial superiority, will be at their side.

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MEETINGS

"THE CASE FOR BIOCHEMICS," Dr. Henry Gilbert. Caxton Hall, Monday, March 16, 7.30. 2s. 6d. London Natural Health Society.

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LITERATURE

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L185 March 13, 1959 6d. US Air Express Edition 10 cents

NO VOTES FOR THE H-BOMB Canvass in Norfolk

THE Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War is to continue to canvass in the S.W. Norfolk by-election in an effort to get people to withhold their votes from candidates who will not give an undertaking to actively oppose nuclear weapons in the House of Commons. Canvassing will take place on the next two week-ends and the Committee hopes to picket the polling booths on election day, Wednesday, March 25.

Offers of help to 344, Seven Sisters Rd., N.4. (STA 7062.)

A public meeting will be held in the Assembly Rooms, East Dereham, at 7.30 p.m. on March 20. Alex Comfort will be the speaker and the film "Children of Hiroshima" will be shown.

In our report of the results of the canvass of S.W. Norfolk last week we omitted to give a breakdown of the party loyalties of the people who have said that they will withhold their votes. Of the 168 people, 70 are Labour Party supporters, 22 Conservative, 2 Liberal and 74 unknown.

'Help elect Labour'

THE National Council of the Labour Peace Fellowship, in a statement issued this week, "appeals to all members of the Fellowship to help ensure the return of a Labour Government at the next General Election."

They are opposed to the campaign for a Voters' Veto which has been proposed by the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War.

CND conference

FROM all over Britain 350 delegates and observers came to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament's first National Conference in London last week-end. The conference was told that 270 local groups had been set up since the campaign was launched last year.

SERGEANT-MAJOR HODGES has, in the slang of the USA, "said a mouthful"! Moreover, he has not only dared to wonder, but has openly indicated that the British soldier now returning from Cyprus is, in fact, actually thinking about the reasons for his sojourn there, and the orders given him while he was there.

It is true, as The Observer commented, that "good soldiers do as they are told," and for long the aim and object of military training has been based on the absolute necessity for obedience to orders. So far as battle orders are concerned, men must automatically obey, and any political doubts they may have are usually overcome by suitable propaganda.

During the First World War, when massacre on the battlefield was as inevitable and wholesale as the charge of the light brigade in the Crimea, most of the doomed young men had been deceived into believing that this was the great crusade of all time.

When they were mowed down in their thousands, to sink and drown in mud and blood and slime, they had no opportunity to "reason why," and it was not known until many years later that at the worst scenes of carnage, Passchendaele and the Somme, only a few yards of undisputed "No Man's Land" were gained. It was of

U.S. nuclear deception

● FROM PAGE ONE

On the contrary great skill was shown in arranging the releases to make sure that the inferences drawn by the Press would all go "in one direction," i.e., of pessimism and alarm.

The information given out by White House and Defence Department not only misled our own people and poisoned the atmosphere of the Geneva negotiations but the harm has not been undone. Little attention has been paid by the Press to the testimony released by the Humphrey sub-committee. What remains in the public mind is the impress of those first headlines and of the alarmist treatment given them by mass circulation periodicals like Time which are opposed, like the Atomic Energy Commission and the Defence Department, to any agreement for the cessation of nuclear testing. Here are some of the basic facts which were withheld:

1 **Instrumentation.** The Defence Department release of January 16 said the new underground tests in Nevada last October were "extensively instrumented with seismographs and as a result a great deal of very significant data" was obtained. This sounded impressive.

What the Defence Department release did not say was that the instruments used were not those recommended by the Geneva conference last summer, and that the instrumentation of the special "listening posts" set up for the October tests were inferior to those recommended at Geneva.

The fact that the instrumentation was not that recommended at Geneva was charged in an article by two Soviet scientists discussing the new American test data in Pravda on January 20.

On January 28 Senator Humphrey questioned Dr. Carl Romney, the Air Force seismologist who headed the Defence Department panel on the new test data, about this Soviet charge.

What wasn't disclosed

"Is the criticism valid," Humphrey asked, "that the instrumentation was not according to that recommended by the experts at Geneva?"

Dr. Romney replied, "It was not claimed that the equipment at these stations is identical to what a control post would have, according to the Geneva recommendations."

But it is also true that neither the White House nor the Defence Department disclosed this to the public nor explained that the instrumentation was not as sensitive as that recommended at Geneva.

2 **Favourable results withheld from public knowledge.** In two respects the new data (obtained from the underground tests)

was hopeful, but both were omitted from the White House and Defence Department releases. The first was the discovery that so-called "surface waves" could also be used to distinguish nuclear explosions from earthquakes.

The other was the discovery that signals much better than expected could be obtained in the so-called "shadow zone."

3 **New detection techniques already available.** The most important thing hidden from the public by the White House and the Defence Department is that new and improved detection techniques are already available which promise the operation at full efficiency of the system recommended at Geneva.

Indeed, Senator Humphrey revealed in a Senate speech on January 20, "Already new methods of detection have been found. We have now been able to find new and improved methods of detection. . . . I

On the threshold of a new age

—MICHAEL SCOTT

"WE are standing on the threshold of a great new age," said the Rev. Michael Scott at a service of intercession for peace held in Aberystwyth last week.

"We know some of the inner secrets of creation through the use of the divine faculties of reason and intelligence, and now we are faced with the great question—how nuclear power is to be used—for creation or destruction."

"At the threshold of this atomic age we must look again at the fundamentals of our religion, our faith and our philosophy," he said.

Science had lost its salt, its savour. It had lost its touch with humanity and with human values.

"We have the task of bringing these together, of seeing life as a creative process. We must find a rhythm as we find it in our music," he declared.

The service was a part of a week's activities organised by the Aberystwyth Nuclear Weapons Committee which included the civic opening of the "No Place to Hide" Exhibition, "Any Questions," a political forum with the Mayor as Chairman on "Britain's Policy for Nuclear Weapons," film shows, and a meeting for University College of Wales students addressed by Miss April Carter, secretary of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War.

A pamphlet giving the week's events and showing the extent of the devastation which could be caused by one ten-megaton H-bomb dropped on Central Wales was distributed in the town.

understand there are several promising techniques to improve the capabilities without increasing the size of the system recommended by the experts at Geneva."

It is significant that Senator Humphrey's assertions were not challenged by a single member of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy which held four days of executive sessions the week of January 12, hearing Dr. Bethe as well as Dr. Teller and his supporters behind closed doors. It has released neither this testimony nor the findings it promised on "the dependability of the detection system proposed by the Geneva panel last summer." Since a majority of the Joint Committee is opposed to a test cessation agreement, the inference is strong that its findings do not support its preconceptions.

More light was cast on improved techniques by Dr. Bethe.

"It is clear from Dr. Bethe's testimony," Senator Humphrey said in a statement on February 19 which most papers ignored, "that technical problems are not the main obstacle to an agreement on the stopping of nuclear weapons tests. The main problem is political."

This is the exact reverse of the impression so skilfully created by the White House and Defence Department statements in January. They made it appear that unexpected technical difficulties had upset the very basis of last summer's agreement at Geneva.

Unfortunately this is the impression most people still have, thanks to the poor Press coverage of the testimony taken by the Humphrey committee. This one-sided race between distortion and truth is painful to watch, especially when it concerns a matter so vital to the survival of mankind.

Defence Minister meets Swaffhamites

THE Minister of Defence, the Rt. Hon. Duncan Sandys, spent three-quarters of an hour on Monday in a frank, "off-the-record" discussion on several aspects of disarmament with members of the Direct Action Committee against Nuclear War.

He was presented with a further batch of signatures to a petition against the erection of missile bases in Britain.

Members of the deputation were: The Rev. Michael Scott, Miss April Carter (Secretary), Miss Pat Arrowsmith (Field Organiser), Hugh Brock (Vice-Chairman and Editor of Peace News), Dr. Alex Comfort. The first four were recently imprisoned following the demonstration at a missile base near Swaffham, Norfolk.

be ambushed, were criminals, not enemies in the sense of the battlefield word. They may have wondered why the populace appeared to support these criminals, but probably believed that they were terrorised and dared not do otherwise.

Perhaps the indoctrination was so thorough that it did not occur to them that the Cypriots looked upon the struggle as a national and patriotic one, and upon the British soldier as a symbol of the denial of self-determination which had been promised.

The very fact that soldiers are only good soldiers if they don't ask questions is in itself an indictment of the whole system, for when the battle is over it is too late then for wondering; wondering will not restore shattered limbs and lives, nor make the dead live.

Force in Cyprus has proved to be abortive, and it is nothing new that in the end negotiations have to take place and agreements have to be arranged. After Cyprus there are some left to wonder and "to reason why"; after another war there may be none. It is clear that the only real hope for the future lies in the abandonment of the use of force, and the acceptance of the spirit of just and willing negotiation.

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By Sybil Morrison

'Theirs not to reason why'

"After we got on the boat and heard that old Makarios was coming back and that Grivas had been promoted to General—well, after two and a half years we wondered what we'd been there for.—Regimental Sergeant-Major Leslie Hodges, as reported in The Observer, March 8, 1959.

"Good soldiers do as they are told, but no one can take away their right to wonder why."

—The Observer, March 8, 1959.

no significance, and had no effect upon the war.

They had killed and they had died; they had been blasted, burned and maimed, not to gain those few yards of ground, but to put an end for ever to German militarism; so they had been told; so most of them believed. Those who lived to see Germany re-armed must have asked themselves—"WHY?"

They have the right to wonder; so much the Observer commentator concedes; but they have no right to do more than wonder, for if they do, then not only are they no longer good soldiers, but they may be a danger on the battlefield.

It is usual to believe that any soldier who refuses to obey orders is either a

coward or mad, though to risk being "shot at dawn" would not seem exactly a cowardly action. Nevertheless, the chances of such a risk being taken (even though there are one or two outstanding examples, such as William Douglas Home, in the Second World War, and Siegfried Sassoon and Max Plowman in the First) are very unlikely, simply because of the intensive training to obey orders without question.

The British soldiers in Cyprus have not been subjected to the wholesale massacre of shell-swept battlefields, but to the malevolence of ambush, and the cruelty of ferreting out and hunting down human beings.

They were made to understand that these people who ambushed them, and who must